TL 4015-31

VII JORNADAS DE TIMOR
UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO

UNIAO DEMOCRATICA TIMORENSE
TIMORESE DEMOCRATIC UNION

INDEPENDENCE
THE ULTIMATE GOAL

Porto, 20 de Julho de 1997

JOAO VIEGAS CARRASCALAO
PRESIDENT
Supreme Political Council

União Democrática Timorense
Timorese Democratic Union

CONSELHO SUPERIOR POLÍTICO
Supreme Political Council

East Timor

Saturday, 5th of July 1997

Independence, The Ultimate Goal

The green and red island of Timor, the land first kissed by the sun when it rises above the horizon (a description attributed to the Portuguese who set foot on our shores), lay forgotten for centuries amid the thousands of islands of the Sunda Archipelago, in a remote corner where the Indian and the Pacific oceans quietly meet.

The eastern part, Portuguese Timor, enjoys the unique privilege of bringing together three major rich cultural groups: Melanesian binding us to South Pacific; Malay-Polynesian to South East Asia, and Latin to Europe. There are also traces of affinities between some ethnic groups with the millennium Aborigines of Australia.

This tiny half-island of 19,000 sqKm, with high peaks reaching up to 3,000 mt., deep valleys covered by luxuriant tropical vegetation, and rich arable table-lands, is inhabit by little more than 750,000 people speaking 33 different dialects.

Tetum, the dialect of the Belu region now spoken by more then ¾ of the population is the "lingua franca" and Portuguese the elected official language.

Now known as East Timor it very frequently makes head lines on the most respected tabloids. It captures the world's attention and it is present on the consciences of the most respected world leaders.

Relevant NGO'S and organizations alike closely monitor daily events in the territory and the international society scrutinizes the abuses of most of the elementary human rights inflicted upon the population.

Governments query the Indonesian authorities about its brutal and illegal occupation of the territory and the issue features prominently in the agenda of every single human rights discussions around the world.

Presidente
President

João Viegas Carrascalão
P.O Box 3233 - Liverpool • NSW 2170 - AUSTRALIA

União Democrática Timorense
Timorese Democratic Union

CONSELHO SUPERIOR POLÍTICO
Supreme Political Council

The island known in the XVI and XVII centuries as the island of spices and of fragrant and exotic sandalwood, was the battleground of many bloody disputes between Portugal and Holland, fighting for supremacy and trade privileges. These two most prominent masters of sea routes of the time settled their differences during the last quarter of XIX Century and reached an Agreement which was finally ratified on the beginning of this century(1904).

Showing complete disrespect to the traditional authorities, they divided the island roughly by the middle and sealed the fate of the Timorese forever, with the creation of Portuguese Timor (East) and Dutch Timor (West). A fictitious frontier was drawn along physical features of the terrain, cutting across the Belu Kingdom, effectively splitting the heart of the region and its indigenous population.

The unfolding of WW II brought with it a successful struggle for independence against the Dutch colonizers, and the whole territory occupied by the Dutch East Indies Company became what is now known as the Republic of Indonesia. The incorporation of West Irian after a referendum totally manipulated by Indonesian authorities, finally fixed the frontiers of the new Republic in 1949 in accordance with the colonial boundaries and as such recognized by the United Nations. President Suharto referred to it when he recently addressed the UN on the 50th anniversary of the Organization.

East Timor, or Portuguese Timor remained unclaimed by the leaders of the newly formed Republic, who embarked instead on the infamous and ill fated "Confrontasi" against Malaysia.

Later, in December 1960, after Resolutions 1514 and 1541 of the United Nations General Assembly, East Timor was listed as a Non-Self-Governing Territory but the Administration of Portugal was unchallenged by the awaking giant neighbor.

No country ever bothered to investigate the state of development of the territory, let alone the aspirations of its population. International apathy in fact allowed the colonial power to pursue a policy of criminal negligence which continued until the so called Carnation Revolution took place in Portugal and the dictatorship of Salazar and Caetano was overthrown.

Presidente
President

João Viegas Carrascalão
P.O.Box 3233 - Liverpool • NSW 2170 - AUSTRALIA

During all those years of Portuguese rule, East Timor was a number of times subjected to cosmetic changes in relation to its designation, ranging from Colony to Overseas Province, to simply Province of Portugal and again to Colony and finally to territory under Portuguese Administration during the last years before the Indonesian invasion. Its political status however, remained unchanged. Despite these cosmetic transformations, the fact is that East Timor continued to be kept in the dark, criminally neglected by successive Portuguese Governments, undeveloped and unexplored.

It was only after Portugal decided to allow the people of the colonies to exercise their right to self-determination that our so called "brothers" from the powerful decision making cadres in Jakarta, the heart of the most brutal dictatorship of our days, decided to add yet another "province" to the already vast territory under their domination.

A puppet member of parliament named John Naru, was taught to repeat before a parliament heavily dominated by appointed military officers and members of the ruling Golkar party (as still is the case today), words to the effect of calling for the "liberation" of East Timor and subsequent incorporation into the Republic. The argument lacked legal and moral substance rendering it weak and fragile. It was soon to be abandoned and another shameful chapter was added to the ever pale image of Indonesian politicians.

The hawks in control of the mighty military apparatus, still inebriated with the success of the West Irian campaign many years before, saw another opportunity to parade their huge military power and at the same time gain more prestige as the builders and guardians of the Nation.

They seized the opportunity, took the matter in their hands and the wheels of destruction were once again set in motion.

Firstly with a feline approach, testing the waters with non military solutions. The creation of a puppet political party in East Timor with the consent and perhaps with the help of the dominant Portuguese leftist officers was the first card dealt. APODETI (Popular Democratic Association of Timor) saw light then, not long after the formation of the two nationalist parties, UDT (Timorese Democratic Union), and ASDT(Social Democratic Party of Timor, the embryo of Fretilin). Some of their leaders and many of

their members were recruited among those who harbored animosity and resentment towards the Portuguese administration, either because of criminal convictions or pending disciplinary proceedings, or simply because their "talents" did not attract proper recognition. .

This "political party" whose practices amounted to something other than a political party, was the vehicle for distribution of Indonesian propaganda and first necessity goods to lure the needy East Timorese who constitute the bulk of the country's population.

But their efforts and good will never attracted more than an estimated 2% of the

750, 000 population.

Meanwhile an intimidation campaign was engendered and began to take shape. Thousands of infantry troops were deployed and concentrated at the border town of Atambua, equipped with heavy artillery and sophisticated weapons, with the tactical support of air and naval units. Small groups of elite commando troops (Beret Merah or Red Berets) for rapid incursions were also commissioned, and a considerable number of marines were stationed at the neighboring island of Alor, complete with landing crafts and amphibious vehicles.

All in readiness for an imminent show of force.

The movement of such a huge number of troops could not happen without tugging at public curiosity, let alone international observers. The whole operation was closely scrutinized and when the purpose of such a movement became clear, the international community was alerted. Facing an outcry of international criticism the Indonesian generals had second thoughts and the exercise, code named Operasi Komodo, was called off . The troops were ordered to play a different role, engaging in engineering work to improve the poor road systems of West Timor.

But the Generals were determined to take over East Timor no matter what and would not give up easily.

The disruption of law and order was to be the next endeavor . This time numerous cultural and folk groups were organized to visit East Timor, with intelligence officers and military personnel disguised as dancers, singers or posing as students. Many of them at the end of the tours stayed behind to gather information and foment unrest with public order disturbances. Further, with the cooperation of the local traditional chief, about 400 able East Timorese were forcibly recruited from Atsabe, a regency known for the criminal activities of many of its inhabitants, and took them across the border to receive military training. Later they were sent back to start guerrilla warfare at Ermera and Atsabe, two densely populated regencies covered with dense eucalyptus forest and rich coffee plantations.

These operations were the prelude to the full scale invasion (Operasi Seroja) which took place at dawn of 7th of December 1975.

Originally planned to take effect on the 6th , it was delayed by one day to save the embarrassment of coinciding with an official visit by President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

The 7th of December is the official date of invasion but in reality a huge number of troops were already operating covertly inside the country, terrorizing the population and coercing some leaders to declare their support, loyalty and intention to reunite East Timor with the Big Brother.

It was during this period that a situation of civil disobedience flourished resulting in the confrontation between groups of civilians affiliated with the two main nationalist parties (UDT and Fretilin) and the integrationist Apodeti. Many Apodeti members joined forces with the more radical Fretilin in confrontation with the more moderate UDT, which in turn received considerable reinforcement from disaffected Fretilin supporters.

Indonesian Generals capitalized on this civil strife and heralded it to the world calling it a "civil war", which it never was. But whatever the nature of the confrontation, it was over after three weeks and could never be the justification for the Indonesian invasion nearly three months later.

It was during this period between the civil strife (Aug.75) and the time of full scale invasion (Dec.75) that a **Petition for integration**, drafted in Jakarta by General Ali Moertopo and his assessors was imposed on some Timorese leaders who under coercion ha[redacted]no option but to sign it.

It was also during this period that, after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Fretilin, the famous **Declaration of Integration** was drafted, again in Jakarta, and brought to Bali to be signed by East Timorese leaders, at the time lodged at The Peneeda View Beach Hotel and subjected to intensive brain washing sessions by officers of the Foreign Affairs Department and Security Services.

The Indonesians always refer to this document as **the "Balibo Declaration"** to mislead people about the location of where it was signed, and constantly invoke it as the legal basis for their action, despite being denounced time and again by many of its pseudo-authors.

I didn't escape the attention of the hawks in Jakarta who pulled the strings on the issue and was myself subjected to several brain washing sessions. I was subjected to constant thr[redacted]ts and intimidation, including reprisals to my wife and two young children detained at Atambua. When they were convinced I had been sufficiently "worked" I was sent on a propaganda mission to Africa. First port of call was Rome to meet the Indonesian Ambassador to the Holly See at his residence and to be briefed. Security personnel guarding the residence (possibly also Embassy) were visible. We arrived at 9.00 o'clock and noticed the changing of the guards in progress. In our ingenuity we alight from the taxi, proceeded to the gate, open it, reached the main entrance of the residence and in no time a housekeeper led us to a waiting room.

When the security officers were made aware of our "intrusion" into the residence, we were already comfortably seated and enjoying a cigarette in a luxurious waiting room.

Next in the agenda was Cairo, the capital of Egypt. On the first day I met officials from the Foreign Office (Asian Desk) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ethiopian Ambassador , Mr. Gethashew Mekasha. Away from the ears and eyes of our "mentors" and believing on the discretion of such high level personalities I decided to capitalized on this golden opportunity for the benefit of our nationalist cause.

I thought I could open up my heart and let my mind go free, denouncing the farce the Indonesians have asked me to perform and reveal instead the real situation in the county, the true aspirations of my countrymen and of my own.

I was completely unaware that political games are played behind the curtains and that human values have different meanings when bilateral and multilateral relations between countries are at stake.

Other meetings were scheduled and I was due to continue to a number of African countries, but that was not to be. The reasons escaped me at the time and I felt really frustrated. Such a golden opportunity of explaining first hand to members of governments and Diplomats in that important part of the world was lost.

A few hours after the meeting at the Egyptian Foreign Office, Ambassador Sheriff, the Indonesian Ambassador, terminated my brief diplomatic expedition and expedited my return. My all important diplomatic mission was terminated when it barely started.

He received information from the Egyptian Ministry and, to my surprise, from my Timorese colleague who covertly taped the whole conversation.

Time was progressing rather quickly and it was Christmas Day before long. The loneliest Christmas I ever "celebrated", walking aimlessly in the center of Rome's CBD. My mind flew thousands of miles away to an obscure Indonesian village (Atambua) where Rosa Maria (my wife), Sandra Joao and Joao Miguel (my children of 4 and 3 years respectively) awaited my return, uncertain of my whereabouts or whether I would ever return.

I knew I would be placed under some sort of surveillance and tight control on my return, but was not aware of other unpleasant surprises. To start with , permission was not given for me to be with my family for New Year's Eve celebrations and on that very same festive day, I was told that my brother Manuel and sergeant Lourenco Hornay were arrested in Baucau a few days before and were in jail in Koepang. They revolted and reacted violently against the Indonesian soldiers for committing atrocities upon defenseless people, following the invasion and occupation of the town. Both were subjected to physical and psychological torture at the hands of their captors. Manuel

suffered the humiliation of being detained without charge and convicted without trial in Koepang, and was only given permission to return to East Timor six years later , having been all those years isolated from his entire family.

The Flobamor in Koepang was going to be my "place of residence" for a number of months, followed by a period at the Kartika Chandra in Jakarta, both government (Security Services) owned and operated Hotels.

As someone who witnessed and was involved in the whole process right from the beginning, I can assure that none of my colleagues of the UDT leadership, except Lopes da Cruz, signed those documents of their own free will. In fact it took a long night of discussions, open threats and coercion from the Indonesians to finally convince my colleagues to do it. When they finally gave in to the pressures, they did it after declaring they were doing it to save our people from further brutal oppression. I am also in a position to assure that they were very conscious that that course of action was against the will and aspirations of the people of East Timor. As subsequent events came to confirm the East Timorese never ratified those documents. And they never ever asked for any assistance from Indonesia either, as is constantly claimed by Jakarta.

The bare truth is that they were never given the opportunity to decide their future, contrary to the claims of the late minister Adam Malik and his successors, Mochtar and now Ali Alatas.

The Indonesian invasion and occupation of our country is a blatant and brutal act of aggression against a non-self-governing territory under the administration of Portugal, as such recognized by the UNO.

The outcome of this brutal act of force and the subsequent grotesque farce staged by Indonesia needs no further introduction since it has been widely reported in detail by the mass media and independent international reporters.

It has gone beyond all expectations and is now essentially an issue that concerns the whole international community. It is an issue that touches the consciences of all peoples who places human respectability above all, and governments who adhere to the UN charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Decolonization Program then in progress, set by the administering power, was brought to an abrupt end by this act and ought to resume.

More than 40 years after Bandung and nearly 40 years after resolutions 1514 and 1541 of the UN General Assembly, East Timor remains as a non-self-governing territory, ironically occupied by Indonesia, the same Indonesia that emerged then as the champion of the oppressed.

East Timor remains one of the few territories where self-determination has yet to take place, denied by Indonesia the champion of decolonisation. It not only denies the East Timorese this fundamental right but also impose upon them a regime of violent oppression and brutal violation of the most elementary rights.

The total and complete disrespect of human rights flows directly from the unclear definition of the political status of the territory, the core of the problem.

East Timor is not a province of Indonesia by determination of its people. It is a territory conquered by force, military occupied and annexed as a result of a vicious and brutal act of war.

The continuation of their presence on our soil is beyond the limits of tolerance. It is not only an insult to the East Timorese but also a challenge to all humanity.

It is a clear cut and shameless violation of International Law, an offense to human morality, a despise to international Institutions. It disregards and ignores resolutions adopted by relevant UN bodies. It questions the authority of the Security Council and is a provocation to the organization itself.

It is in fact beyond human comprehension. And yet, it is done in complete impunity. It is done under the nose, if not with the complicity of the so called "Guardians of the World". The United States of America, the only remaining super-power whose intervention in regional and internal conflicts in other parts of the globe brought peace and order for the belligerent parties has so far failed to access the situation in East Timor through its own merits. Human rights violations that everybody talks about is only one of the consequences. The political status of the territory is the real question and has to be addressed properly. Smaller and much less powerful countries have open up precedence

and taken the lead in reassessing the situation. New Zealand as an example, no longer considers the annexation as irreversible, in light of the latest events in the territory. We expect nothing less from the Clinton administration.

We, the East Timorese have proved beyond doubt that we will not stand as simple "voyeurs" and wait for others to solve our problems. We have been virtually ignored by some of the main protagonists in this play, though it is only due to our persistent struggle, courage and determination that the issue captures the imagination of the world, making the head lines on the most important newspapers and is at present on the Agenda of Governments and relevant organizations.

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to two leading Timorese figures, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo and Jose Ramos-Horta is the international recognition that ours is a just cause, at the highest possible level. It once again placed the issue under world wide spotlight and intense international scrutiny. It also presents a golden opportunity for the matter to be widely discussed in order to find a comprehensive, just and internationally accepted solution.. In one word, it is a golden opportunity for constructive action.

It is not enough to acknowledge the gravity of the problem.

It is even less acceptable merely to understand the question itself.

It is not enough to declare support for the efforts of the Secretary General of the UNO on his efforts to find a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution.

It is crucial to provide him and the Organization, with the necessary means to achieve a solution.

The use of force through large scale military operations was a resort which on many occasions proved to be effective and successful.

But let's make it clear from the outset that nothing is further from our minds than the military action taken when Iraq invaded and took over Kuwait.

We are not asking for this kind of action.

We firmly believe a global and peaceful solution can still be achieved through negotiations under the auspices of the UN, between the administering power and the aggressor, despite the failure of the on-going process.

The format of negotiations has to be redesigned and implemented with the East Timorese, the victims of the whole process to be given much more attention right now, rather then being simply "voyeurs" as it has been so far.

Sometime in the future, bearing in mind that no solution is a good solution without the seal of approval of the East Timorese, we must have the central stage.

What solution then?, you may ask.

There are many different shades of opinion within the Timorese political spectrum.

An insignificant number are happy with the current situation, asking only for more autonomy for the local government.

The overwhelming majority clearly indicates a referendum as the main objective, with three options on the card.

First - Integration with Indonesia

Second - Free association with the administering power (Portugal).

Third - Independence.

Whichever the preference may be , an act of free choice through a referendum is unequivocally what everybody has in mind.

How to achieve this?

Over the last few years a peace plan was presented and explained in several international forums, and widely publicized in detail by the mass media. It is the so called CNRM peace plan. It goes over three phases with its final stage contemplating a referendum preceded by a period of autonomy under Indonesian sovereignty.

The Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), my political party, does not endorse this plan and in fact does not conform with the principle that we should propose any peace plan at all.

The East Timor case has no resemblance to any other situation. A process of Decolonisation was being carried out when Indonesian invaded and took over, thus forcing the government of the administering power to withdraw from the territory without fulfilling its responsibilities towards the country and its population.

This Decolonisation Program had previously been discussed and agreed upon in a Summit meeting in Macao, between the Portuguese Government and representatives of UDT and Apodeti. Fretilin failed to attend on the grounds that being Apodeti an integrationist party, it did not have the right to discuss the future of the territory. A flexible timetable was also agreed upon and after ratification it was promulgated by a Presidential Decree to become the Law 7/75, also known as the Decolonisation Law for East Timor.

To better understand UDT's position and its inflexibility in relation to Indonesians claiming sovereignty in East Timor, I shall spell out our interpretation of some universal principles and rights of peoples and nations , and draw your attention to some hard facts.

Brief Historical Overview

First of all, a quick historical overview, backing up to the Portuguese golden era of discoveries. In an affirmation of untamed spirit of bravura of the Portuguese warriors and also in a display of deep religious Christian faith, it is said that they sailed the seas in search of new land, with a sword on one hand and a cross on the other. So they set foot in Africa, fighting their way inland and dominating whoever came across their path. With the might of their swords the "Rajahs" of Africa fell to their feet one after the other. Suzerainty of Portugal was imposed over their land, and they and their people were declared new subjects of the Portuguese crown. Traditional hierarquy were maintained but no Portuguese titles were granted to the native chiefs. They were in fact taken and considered as war spoil. Swearing "voluntarily" the oath of allegiance to the King of Portugal, the Africans were then exposed to an intensive and vast campaign of

Christianisation, while the search and plundering of precious stones, gold and other riches were carried out.

But that was not the case of East Timor. During intensive contacts with trading partners on the far East, many times they referred to an island rich in spices and a very aromatic wood. They were also told of the people who inhabited that dream island with majestic high mountains, serene beaches and calm waters. How humble and docile they were in times of peace but inured to war and sanguinary when challenged.

With knowledge of the people they were going to encounter, it comes with no surprise that they left the sword behind when they venture the expedition and showed no warring intentions whatsoever when contact was established.

The cross was their arm and Lord's words were the only ammunition they carried. Shielded with the Christian faith and captained by a monk, south they came in search of the island and this people they had heard so much about. On a glorious day, the year 1515 or 1516 running (no one established yet beyond doubt when), they set foot on a golden sand beach on the north shore. To meet them in their full military apparel were warriors of the Kingdom of Belu. Ascertained of their peaceful intentions, these strange people were taken to the presence of the King of Belu. Enchanted with the behavior and manners of those white skinned people from a distant Kingdom, a suzerainty treaty was negotiated, established and sealed with the exchange of presents, bounding the two distant kingdoms. The Timorese traditional hierarquy was respected and the Rajahs of Timor were granted the right to have their newly adopted Christian names preceded by the title of "Dom", as granted to all the nobles in Portugal.

From then on to our present days, the coexistence of the natives of the island and the people from the distant kingdom of Portugal was based on a relationship of mutual respect and admiration. This mutual tolerance allowed the flourishing of a perfect symbioses of cultures, of Latin-catholic origin from the Portuguese and the local Malay-Polynesian , resulting in a unique blend which differentiates us from the rest of the South East Asian and Pacific People. It is this unique feature which gives us the right to

claim for our Independence and destroys the Indonesian claims that we share the same ethno-linguistic origins.

The Portuguese culture blended for centuries with the exotic Timorese way of living and doing things resulted in what we call our own Luso-Timorese culture.

Our extraction may have originated from the same root as some of the people now known as Indonesians, but it branched away centuries ago and generations after generations carved their own way of being in this world.

After all that was said, Why Then ?

Why then should we concede to Indonesia Generals and their pawns the right to negotiate with us the future of our country, when it is a proved fact that the annexation of East Timor came as a result of a blatant and brutal act of war?

Why should we give Indonesia a red carpet treatment when it is now more than ever evident that the annexation was a total farce perpetrated by Soeharto and his generals, against the wishes of the population?

Why should we discuss the future of our country when our people faces daily, hourly, every minute of the day the most brutal repression, torture, murder and rape, in a genocide worse in a percentage basis than the Holocaust?

Why should we negotiate when thousands of East Timorese have died at the hands of the invading forces and our people are still treated today, 22 years after the invasion, with no respect whatsoever?

Why should we give them the opportunity to argue about our future when over 250,000 of our brothers and sisters lost their lives under their brutal occupation?

No, we should not grant them this benefit.

After so many resolutions of he UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council condemning the invasion and calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of

Indonesian forces, it is simply outrageous to grant them the right to negotiate And the way the international community has turned a blind eye to the suffering and destruction of our people and embarked on a policy of appeasement is simply shameful, to say the least.

It is pure hypocrisy in its most refined form.

To negotiate the inalienable right of our people with those responsible for the most horrendous crimes perpetrated upon us is nothing less than to compromise with the devil.

SELF DETERMINATION

Self determination is perceived today by many only as the right of people of a territory to determine its political future and in International terms often means that the people want total independence, that is , political, economical, religious and cultural. This conception is rapidly becoming the sole perception of people concerned about the fate of a population of a certain troubled territory, but is not sufficiently informed about the real parameters of the concept. I must confess that it is easy to acquire and limit the perception of the concept to that, since most major newspapers and audio-visual mass media refer to the question mostly under that prism.

My personal interpretation of the concept of self-determination encompasses a broader perspective, embracing the right of all peoples to pursue their lifestyle and culture, consistent with their traditional "modus vivendi" or accommodating to new environments.

The right of having a decisive voice over how to live now and in the future, including the right to maintain and pass on traditional individual and family values to their offspring or to whoever wants to adhere to and live by them.

In summary, self determination encompasses every decision of our daily routine.

But, as responsible members of a community and a nation, living in a society under the rule of law, our individual freedom stops where our fellow's freedom starts. Here is

where the fundamental principle of humanity steps in, imposing the basic rule of equality at birth, that is every person is born equal, with the same rights and obligations.

It is also here that the basic rule of Democracy steps in, imposing the interests of the majority over the interests of the minority, and where the general interests take precedence to individual aspirations. Moreover, self-determination is the right to decide

and create the necessary mechanisms to collectively pass on to future generations those instruments of nationalism like language, culture, religion and tradition.

To decide over how to manage or the right to manage the natural resources of our land and territorial waters. Self determination is a dynamic and continuous process through which people define and affirm who they are as individuals and as a community and a nation.

Under the current circumstances and in light of our definition of self-determination, we will not agree with direct negotiations between East Timorese representatives and Indonesia.

While Indonesia continues to subject our people to the most brutal oppression at the hands of the military.

While the most elementary human rights are denied to our people, like the right of free speech and the right of free association.

While Indonesia continues to arbitrarily arrest and maintain in jail prisoners of conscience.

While Indonesia continuous to persecute our people simply because they want to be free.

While Indonesia continues to pursue the policy of physical and cultural genocide of our people.

While Indonesia continues to deny the right of expression in our own language and of our own distinctive culture, **we see no point in negotiating.**

Meanwhile we agree that Portugal and Indonesia should continue to talk and negotiate a way of recognizing the right of the people of East Timor to decide their own future.

We do foresee our direct participation in a later phase of the negotiations, when Indonesia accepts before the international community that East Timor is still a non-self-governing territory under Portuguese administration.

There are now clear signs of political will towards finding a solution to the problem. The days of American Ambassadors to the UN systematically blocking the Security Council resolution are definitely something of the past.

The present administration in the White House have shown more concern and President Clinton has admitted supporting a referendum. And the American public opinion is now better informed and more aware of the situation. Many American educational institutions, academics and students have placed the issue on their priority list.

There is also a growing concern and a genuine will to change the course of events at Federal level, with many Congressmen supporting the introduction and approval of Bills restricting assistance to Indonesia. And at State level some concrete measures are under way, starting with the introduction of a Bill at he State of Massachusetts (the C[illegible]ral Bill) calling for prohibition of selective contracts between the State of Massachusetts and Indonesia, while East Timor is not granted the right of self-determination.

South American countries are now more sensitive to the problem and Brazil have joined the long list of countries now firmly supporting a referendum. Most African countries, with the PALOP group at the forefront have always shown solidarity. Even Asian countries are now showing some signs of vacillation. At the European front, the EU have taken concrete and firm steps. The Madrid accord, where a resolution calling for the link of Foreign Policy to Human rights situation was adopted, is truly remarkable.

The new Secretary General of the UNO has indicated his commitment to finding a solution and one that does not betray the genuine aspirations of the East Timorese. The appointment of a special representative with the sole task of the East Timor portfolio is a very positive step which meet with our total approval. The profile of Ambassador Marker , a highly respected diplomat with a long list of important posts around the world

and at the UN, now in retirement, gives us the guarantee that no aspect of the question will be forgotten and whatever proposals he puts forward will be after full consultation with all parties involved.

We believe conditions have now been created for us to expose our ideas as a humble contribution for a global solution to the problem.

Bearing in Mind:

1 - The well known process carried out in West Irian where:

The presence of the UN did not impede the Indonesians from totally manipulating the whole process.

The outcome of the process resulted in the Indonesian and UN conducted referendum being a total farce.

Despite the dissatisfaction and protests of the native population the UN failed to acknowledge the farce.

This failure subsequently led to a situation of permanent confrontation between the population and the occupying forces, resulting in the creation of OPM and other resistance groups.

The Indonesians responded with violent and brutal repression, perpetrating upon the people of West Irian all sorts of violence, cruelty and crimes.

After more than 40 years the territory is still military occupied and heavily populated with Indonesian government sponsored settlers.

2 - The well known situation in East Timor where:

The so called Process of Integration was a farce carried out by Indonesia.

The Indonesian presence is rejected by Timorese from all walks of life, resulting in the civilian population being subjected to violent and brutal repression.

The constant lies told in every forum by Indonesian Military officers and Diplomats are now completely exposed.

União Democrática Timorense
Timorese Democratic Union

CONSELHO SUPERIOR POLÍTICO
Supreme Political Council

The widespread resistance in East Timor to the occupation is now exposed to the world.

The international support for the issue, after reports of independent visitors to the country, is growing and more effective.

A firm and determined young generation of East Timorese, born after the Indonesian invasion and educated under the regime, is actively engaged in fighting for the liberation of the country.

A firm and determined Timorese Clergy assumed a commendable posture in defense of the oppressed countrymen and women.

The average citizens are determined to defend their values. A de facto resistance administration is in operation inside the country.

An undefeated and active guerrilla resistance is growing in numbers and in strength.

A determined, courageous and untamed population is transforming weakness into strength.

The condemnation by the international community of the Indonesian invasion and illegal occupation.

The recognition by all of Portugal as the Administering power.

The affinity between the East Timorese and the Portuguese people, forged during centuries of pacific coexistence ruled by mutual respect and tolerance.

The people of Portugal continues to support the just struggle of East Timor.

The Government of Portugal is totally committed to defend the right of the East Timorese to determine their own future, through a referendum supervised internationally.

The Government of Portugal is truly committed to respect and accept whatever the outcome of the referendum.

The Government of Portugal is wholeheartedly committed to fulfill its responsibilities towards the country and people of East Timor.

The Government of Portugal has spared no efforts in bringing the case of East Timor to the international spotlight, in search of a just, comprehensive and internationally accepted solution.

Presidente
President

João Viegas Carrascalão
P.O Box 3233 - Liverpool • NSW 2170 - AUSTRALIA

União Democrática Timorense
Timorese Democratic Union

CONSELHO SUPERIOR POLÍTICO
Supreme Political Council

The Timorese Democratic Union takes as valid the principles enunciated in 1974 in East Timor, whereby it is stated that a popular consultation is the only means to have a correct expression of the will of the East Timorese, and conclude: The only guarantee of a true and genuine act of self-determination will only occur after the resumption of the Decolonisation Program by Portugal, through a referendum to be conducted under the supervision of the United Nations

Knowing the aspirations of our people, we have developed a plan to allow Portugal to resume the Decolonisation Program of the territory.

The plan, which we call, the Decolonisation Plan, calls for the administering power to resume a de facto control of the country and reactivate the program forcibly abandoned as a result of the Indonesian invasion and occupation.

The details of the mentioned plan will be disclosed on due time.

Sydney, 5 of July 1997

Joao Viegas Carrascalao